

SOME
NOTES OF TRAVEL.

BY A (LATE)
MISSIONARY BISHOP.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THE GREEK ORTHODOX AND ANGLICAN
CHURCHES,

AND
*SOME RECENT INVITATIONS TO CLOSER INTER-
COMMUNION AND FELLOWSHIP BOTH OF
WITNESS AND SERVICE.*

Second Edition.

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HAVE been requested, by a few friends whose judgment I value, to commit to writing some of the simple facts which were forced on my observation during a recent journey in the East, having reference to the present condition of the Eastern Churches, and their attitude and relations towards the Anglican Church, together with some thoughts which have been seriously impressed on my mind touching the duties and responsibilities which appear to attach to us, as a Church, in virtue of the present opportunities afforded to us, and urgent appeals addressed to us, from our needy and suffering sisters in the East.

It was between February 15, 1888, and April 15, 1889, that (upon resigning my Lahore episcopate, after just ten years' tenure of it, through the necessity which shattered health unhappily imposed upon me) I had occasion to undertake the journey from whose experiences these notes are compiled, and whose special direction

seemed to me providentially fixed, should sufficient strength be given, by several concurring circumstances which rendered the trip as much a duty as a pleasure. Some years previously I had been requested to add to a visitation I undertook of our C.M.S. Missions, headed by Dr. Bruce, in N. Persia, a further visit to Bussorah and Baghdad, together with some English stations (telegraphic and others) in the Persian Gulf. This purpose I had been "let hitherto" from fulfilling, as requested by the C.M.S. committee; and I was glad to avail myself of the fitting occasion now afforded for complying with that request; it being my further object to secure as much rest and quiet as possible, for the recovery of health and brain-power, by travelling in the desolate wastes where the monuments of some of the world's most ancient capitals impress and startle the wayfarer; and by traversing some of the pathways trodden by the Patriarchs in the infancy of the human family. It seemed practicable, also, by leisurely journeying in the desert, and occasional more or less lengthened sojourn in the larger cities and towns which crossed our path, to make an effort to acquire the Arabic colloquial, with a view to turn it to some little account for missionary purposes, among Jews, Druzes, and Mahomedans; besides making as careful inquiry as possible what mission agencies are at work in these countries, and with what approximate and apparent results; and forming an estimate, so far as observation and frequent conversation with some of the leading men among

their priests and laity permitted, of the prevailing tendencies of thought in the Eastern Churches, their difficulties and discouragements, and prospective hopes and fears, together with the causes which have turned their thoughtful attention and favourable regard, in many cases, towards our English Church, and brought it about that they have become fervent applicants, if not suppliants, for our help and support, and even more, our sisterly sympathy and fellowship in Christ.

I confess to have been much taken by surprise, and found my previous expectations largely corrected, and even reversed, in what I saw of the present state and prospects of the Christian and Mahomedan population with which my journey brought me in contact. It lay along a very ancient, but at present much unfrequented, line of travel, *viâ* Bushire and Baghdad, to Mosul, Mardeen, Diarbekir, Oorfa, Aleppo, and Antioch, ending at Scanderoon on the western coast, whence frequent steamers visit Beyrout.

A hasty traveller must ordinarily content himself with skimming the surface of things, sketching scenery, portraying manners and customs, describing physical features of the country, and signs of material progress of the people; but in the course of a more leisurely journey, and as the language is gradually acquired, it is possible to become partner of the every-day thoughts, and have sympathies awakened for the present and most urgent needs of a people. Staying awhile in each of the more populous places; putting up in

their khans or peasants' huts by the way, with their wives and children, horses and asses, cows and goats, for fellow-inmates of their lowly homes; sitting down for wayside talk with the people, or chatting with the mounted zabtiyeh, who acts as guide and guard; entering into converse with priest and bishop, husbandman, merchant, Turkish soldier, one is better able to gauge the spirit of the people, and their prevailing bent of mind is more freely outspoken. It was easy to perceive that not only in Asiatic Turkey, on whose revived national enthusiasm and high hopes the daily journals have dwelt recently, but even in the more remote Turkish Arabia, along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, through the ancient Mesopotamia, men are waking up from sleep; hands are stretched forth, especially on the part of the Christian population, towards the recovery of the long forfeited heritage; much interest is excited in Western thought, literature, and movement of mind, especially the synodical action of our Archbishops and Bishops; the works of our learned theologians, divines, and professors; the wide extension of our episcopate and mission agencies; not least, our work among Mahomedan races. In spite of all the jealousy with which the Government of the Sultan and many of his officials throughout his empire regard the English, and the not unreasonable suspicion excited by our occupation of Egypt and Cyprus—taken as proofs of our ambitious intriguing and restless scheming after self-advancement;—in spite of the indecisive action

of our Ministers of Foreign Affairs in all questions affecting our missions in the East, and reluctance to embroil themselves in such questions—still, English statesmanship and the Anglican Church are very far from having lost their ancient prestige. The growth of our Empire, and the forth-spreading of the branches of our Church, east, west and south, make a great impression on the Eastern mind in Syria and Palestine, especially the steady planting of our Church in India, Japan, China, and the South Seas. They have been struck with the high character and expansive, sympathetic views of our recent archbishops, and men like the late Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln, and the much deplored Bishop Lightfoot; with the excellence of our Prayer-book and its Liturgical services (which an improved Arabic translation makes them better acquainted with); with our ceaseless and successful efforts in the work of Biblical translation; the increased number of our students and editors of the chief Greek and Syrian Fathers; the kindly reception accorded to some of their Patriarchs and Primates; help given for schools and printing presses, and other signs of closer drawings of heart between our Church and their own—these, and other causes, make England and its Church an object to them of surpassing interest and warmly kindled expectation.

Three ever-engrossing subjects of anxiety and causes of depression emphasise keenly the yearning desire one hears expressed on all sides and most pathetically, that England's Church will see

its way at an early date to lend pillars and buttresses of support to the enfeebled Eastern Churches, and help to revive their slackened and grievously exhausted energies.

I.—First of all, the crushing and overawing sense of Mahomedan supremacy, whose incubus lies like a dead weight (as they freely confess) over every aspiration towards revival of former zeal, and rekindling of the smouldering flame of devotion and love for primitive truth, as well as over every hope of having any door of utterance and witness opened to them, to the Moslem population, which hems them in on all sides.

I can never forget the bitter reproaches hurled by the Jacobite Patriarch of Babylon (an old man of ninety, with whom I stayed two nights at Mardin) against the British Government for the part taken in the Crimean war, and the moral support given to the propping-up of Turkish rule against the Christian power which might have restored the Eastern Church to its ancient supremacy and capacity for witness.

The Moslem power, they frequently said, renders all missionary effort impracticable; it being an indispensable condition of their existence, at least of their toleration, protection, and admission to municipal rights, that they should let Mahomedans well alone, and make no fresh converts. This was insisted on by the Patriarch in a speech of more angry upbraiding than I heard elsewhere in the East, in spite of his having Archbishop Tait's portrait on the wall facing him in his private re-

ception-room, and our gracious Queen's immediately behind him. His priests, on the other hand, two of them in particular, protested in private against this harsh language of their Patriarch, and his jealous deprecation of any interference of the Church of England with his Church, in the way of sending agents of any kind as preachers or schoolmasters. Kasis (Priest) Ibrahim Shakir lost no opportunity of pleading with pathetic importunity in behalf of his Church and people as standing in most urgent need of support and sisterly fellowship. He said he had not seen an English priest for ten years. He assured me he had once spent a hundred pounds in a journey to Jerusalem and back, to carry a petition from himself and a number of his brethren for the succour of the Anglican Church. He had never ceased to pray during those ten years that God would give them a reviving in their bondage, and stir up in us a spirit of sympathy and fraternal affection, taking the form of an immovable resolve to help them in their deep depression and discouragement. Failing of this, there was no help but that Rome must absorb them, for they were utterly overmatched, and unable to cope with the unequal odds. It was the one hope remaining to them, and the help must be speedy—within ten years, he said—or it would come too late.

II.—It should be observed that these same priests in Mardin (as well as others in Jerusalem and elsewhere) grounded their touching appeals

to the English Church for support on the ever-growing and overbearing encroachments of the Roman Church on the Eastern. They dwelt on the exhaustless resources, both in the way of men and women, and of means, and of political support from France and the Vatican, which Rome is bringing to bear on their enthrallment, claiming, with arrogant presumption, their abject submission to the yoke of the Papacy—most especially during the present half century, and with added emphasis since the revival of the autocratic influences of the Jesuit Order by Leo XIII. It would almost appear to be an object, steadily and remorselessly pursued, to found an Oriental Empire for the Roman Church on the ruins of the ancient empires of Nineveh and Babylon, and of the ancient Churches of the East, of which Mosul (the ancient Nineveh) should be the Eastern, as Rome is the Western, throne of Empire. In preparing, with such strength as I can compass, these lines for limited circulation, I discharge at least a duty I have incurred, from having occasion to listen to the pathetic, imploring expostulations (I may call them adjurations) which the Syrian priests again and again expressed, pleading with me to be the bearer of their urgent appeal to his Grace the Primate and his suffragans. Besides Mosul, the Roman Church has strongly entrenched itself in the cities of Baghdad, Mardeen, Aleppo, Beyrout, Sidon, Haiffa, Smyrna, as well as in Jerusalem, Nazareth, Bethlehem, Jaffa, Shechem, Salt (said to be the old Ramoth-

Gilead) ; less strongly in Oorfa (ancient Edessa), Diarbekir, and Antioch. Of these stout fortresses of the Roman Church I have had personal observation, garrisoned as they are by ever fresh contingents of recruits, men and women admirably trained, and often of high cultivation, of single-hearted devotion and implicit obedience. In almost all of these cities—besides the Latin Churches which hold immediately to Rome, and the Maronites, who have been in strict cohesion with it since the twelfth century—we find the Greek Catholic, Armenian Catholic, Syrian Catholic, usually called Chaldean, which term expresses in part a *race* distinction, and in part allegiance to the Pope and all recent as well as early Church Councils under Papal sanction, mitigated in some degree by concessions granted as regards some ancient ritual and liturgical forms, which primitive usage has endeared to the Easterns.

At Mosul, in the spring of 1888, I received the Holy Eucharist from the old Syrian Bishop, Mar Elias, a very saintly man ; the only one standing firm of four Syrian Bishops who, from being Chaldeans, renounced their allegiance to the Roman faith and the Papacy, in consequence of their conscientious objections to the decrees of the Vatican Council, and fell back on their ancient creeds and ritual. This Bishop, until a few months ago, had shown a most Apostolic courage in resisting the intrigues, bribery, tyrannical persecution, and French statecraft by which Rome had

prevailed on his three fellow-bishops to relapse into Papal domination, and had forcibly possessed itself, as was shown me, of more than one ancient Syrian church and school in Mosul, besides possessing the two magnificent cathedrals in that city, one Latin, one Chaldean, both alike centres of Papal influence, and having at their head a Papal nuncio. The Chaldean cathedral is built wholly of white marble, and was erected not many years since at the cost of a single wealthy Chaldean, a member of the flock. In connexion with the Latin cathedral is a college, largely attended, and well-reported of for the learning and ability of its professors, like those at Beyrout and Jerusalem, and well adapted for training of Syrian youth for the priesthood of the Roman faith. The Chaldean Bishop, with whom I conversed, was the very impersonation of haughty and insolent bigotry, as though he regarded the Anglican Church as beneath contempt. The splendour and costly decoration of his reception-room could scarcely have been exceeded by the proudest Ninevite monarchs of old.

It was very different, I thankfully admit, with the Chaldean Bishops of Diarbekir and Karkhoot—the latter especially, an ancient and very quaint city between Mosul and Mardin. Here I sat two hours with the Bishop and his priests, and tried, through the medium of French, to dwell on the special character of the witness our Church holds itself commissioned to deliver. When showing me some ancient service-books in their Cathedral, much decayed

and defaced by time, they pointed with pride to the erasures of Nestorius and his fellows from the list of those whose intercessions were invoked—which had resulted from their being received into the bosom of Papacy. They thought it a great change for the better also to have introduced the “filio-que” into the Creed. As regards Mariolatry and Hagiolatry, the priests sheltered themselves under the old distinction of *dulia* and *hyperdulia*. They were strong in maintaining that confession to the priest before death was a *viaticum* to Paradise. In all parts of the church were many pictures of the Virgin, but no *icons* or images.

Mutual regard for the great St. Ephrœmus Syrus, whose tomb I stood by at Oorfa, was a common bond of sympathy between us. The Bishop hoped to see the day when the Archbishop of Canterbury would accept the Papal supremacy! I pointed out to him, from my recollections of Dean Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, how even in mediæval times the Church of England had held out tenaciously for its independent rights and privileges, as opposed to “enslavement” of prince and prelate; and he readily admitted what he called the *ténacité* of England's State and Church, “especially under Queen Victoria.” With him, as with many of the Bishops, it seemed natural to dwell on the precedence given to truth above unity in several of our public prayers; whilst our frequent pleadings for unity should acquit us of the charge of unduly disparaging it.

On the Sunday afternoon the Bishop called in grand purple costume. He was very gracious, and said how sorry he was to part with us, and would have got apartments ready for us had he known of our intended arrival. I promised to obtain for him *Fénelon's Life*, by Cardinal Bautain (4 vols.), which I happened then to be reading, and Mgr. Dupanloup's *Méthode générale de Catéchisme*, a marked feature in whose teaching is the need of urging upon confirmees the necessity of pleading for true conversion of heart to God, and solemn, soul-searching dealings with them in this weighty matter on the part of the priests. It was touching, his coming to bid me a brotherly farewell, and craving a mutual episcopal benediction as I started on my way for Mardin, in such words as "*Peace be with all those that love Our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.*"

The Syrian Bishop at Mosul noticed above (Mar Elias, or Bishop Melus, as he is called by others) talks moderately well both English and French, as well as Arabic, and has a scholarlike acquaintance with the original Scriptures. He resembled, or even exceeded, the Syrian Bishop I met at Diarbekir in simplicity of tastes and saintliness of life. More edifying converse one could scarcely have been privileged to hold with any of the deepest taught of our English divines. His library was well replenished with an excellent selection of devotional works, both French and English. He spoke with much affection of the English Church and its present Archbishop, and the consolation

and support he had derived from correspondence with him and some few of the clergy of our Church with whom he had come in contact. His position at the time I visited him was a most critical and delicate one, and no pains were spared by bitter and intemperate hostility to quench this "burning and shining light" in the midst of abounding darkness—both Moslem and, I am grieved to add, Papal. The saddest thing of all is, that the emissaries of Rome have gained their point at last by constraining him to submission and adhesion; and in this part of the field at least, the point for which the agents of that Church have for many years been "labouring in the fire", is practically secured as regards the subjugation of the whole body of the Chaldean Bishops and priests on the hither side of the Kurdistan mountains. One man of singular gifts and devotion, a Dominican monk, a missionary, a disciple of Lacordaire, and one of the most famed Italian painters in this century (*Le Père Besson*), was commissioned by Pius IX to accomplish this task, and toiled at it unweariedly but fruitlessly till his early death at Mar Yacoob, the centre of Roman aggression in the Kurdistan hills. Few men can have surpassed him in constancy under hardship and suffering, and renunciation of the highest gains and honours of the world. His mission did not address itself to the conversion of the Moslem so much as the subjection of the Nestorian Church to Roman supremacy. His tomb, beneath a pinnacled chapel,

I had occasion to visit in the Latin convent of Mar Yacoob, some twenty miles north of Mosul, in an extremely romantic spot on the crest of a scarcely accessible mountain steep, rent into frowning chasms, on one of whose peaks is an ancient Chaldean church of most solid and massive masonry, some 1,000 years old, standing amid a multitude of grim, cavernous recesses, where Chaldean monks for many centuries have been immured in solitary confinement through the long term of their living death. The French monk in charge told me that Besson fell a victim to his exhausting labours during a plague which decimated Mosul, dying of a fever from which he failed to recover, though sent up to their mountain retreat, in a cleft of whose rocks he lies.

Mar Elias (whose lapse through what proved the intolerable heat of his furnace I must bitterly deplore after so long and resolute resistance) confessed frankly enough the extreme difficulty of his position, and portrayed to me in lively colours the overawing and overpowering influence of the Latins under the French Protectorate and aided by the Papal coffers. Of the Government of France he said, that through all the East, beginning at Constantinople, they regarded the support of their Church and of all others in alliance with it as a State trust they could not divest themselves of; whereas England and America took no such course at all. Though he might concede the Pope's Primacy, he never could for a moment admit his supremacy. In resistance to

this last, he desired that the Anglican and Eastern Churches should bind themselves together in Christ's behalf; and from the standpoint of the primitive Christian Church protest against the usurpation. He urged that copies of the late Bishop Wordsworth's *Theophilus Anglicanus* should be translated in Arabic and published in Beyrout for circulation through Turkish Arabia, that they might come to a better understanding of the true position of the English Church, and help to disperse the painful ignorance which prevails as to its origin, character, and mission. The very ancient Syrian Church in which I received the Holy Communion at his hands is the only one in Mosul which the Latins have not by intrigue or main force appropriated, and by arts I need not describe, they are adepts in staying the hands of the Turkish officials from interference to prevent wrong. An aged deacon of this church showed me, amongst his choicest treasures, some letters from His Grace the Primate and Mr. Athelstan Riley, in reply to appeals for help from the struggling churches of the East.

I am not in possession of the details of the gradual process by which the relapse of the Syrian (Nestorian, not Jacobite) Church to the Papacy has been brought about between the year of the death of Bisson (1861) and the last year, when the witness of the last surviving confessor was silenced. The biographer of Besson (*Vie du Rev. Père Hyacinthe Besson, de l'Ordre des frères Prêcheurs*, par E. Cartier, Paris, 1869) represents

the struggle unjustly as one in which the English and French missions were putting forth all their strength ; and there will doubtless be a loud pæan of triumph over the defeat of the English Church, though, in fact, there is not a single Church of England mission in the whole country, except the very recently established one by the C.M.S. at Baghdad, 300 miles south of Mosul, where good and most appreciable service is being rendered by Dr. Sutton. The English missions (so called) are American Presbyterian, whose agents, I am told, studiously and jealously claim to be styled English, rather than American, missions ; and the embarrassment thus caused to some of those concerned, and the handle afforded for a plausible attack on the catholicity of our Church, leads the Jesuits to throw their whole weight into the scale of that view which identifies the American Board of Missions with those of the English Church. What is more surprising is that, while the miserable inadequacy of our response to the piteous appeals of oppressed Eastern Churches is such as should mantle with the deepest blush of shame any honest Churchman's brow, yet the Roman missions speak with such ill-concealed apprehension and misgivings—not to say reproachful mockery and misconception—of the methods and results of our English missions. It may not be out of place, in illustration of what has been advanced, to quote a few passages from the *Life of Besson* :—

"L'antique et glorieux protectorat de la France sur les Chrétiens d'Orient existe toujours, et il rendrait encore à la religion d'immenses services, sans l'intervention rivale de l'Angleterre protestante. Dès qu'un Chrétien subit une injustice, il peut se plaindre au missionnaire, qui examine l'affaire et la porte, s'il y a lieu, devant le Consul de France. Celui-ci s'adresse au Pacha, qui fait droit ordinairement à sa réclamation. . . . La réparation obtenue est un hommage rendu à la religion en même temps qu'une gloire pour la France. Car si la France sert à l'église, l'église n'est pas moins utile à la France. . . . La protection des Chrétiens est le seul moyen pour nous de lutter contre l'or de l'Angleterre, dont la propagande biblique ne sert que l'ambition et de commerce." (*Vie*, p. 265.)

"Il y a dans les montagnes du Kurdistan une population au moins égale à celle des Maronites du Mont Lebanon ; et si les Chrétiens nous étaient unis par la même foi nous pourrions les attacher par des bienfaits et contrebalancer l'action envahissante de l'Angleterre dans ces contrées. Depuis près d'un siècle les progrès de cette nation commerçante sont immenses. Elle a établi son empire avec ses comptoirs au sein des villes les plus importantes de l'Asie, et elle envoie de là ses ministres Protestants comme des commis voyageurs, pour lui créer des relations et de l'influence. Mais le ministre Protestant s'aventure peu dans les solitudes dangereuses, et son amour pour le Bible ne va pas jusqu'au martyre. Il intriguera et trafiquera de quelques âmes sans s'élever jamais à l'apostolat véritable, et à l'exercice héroïque du caractère. Le dévouement de nos missionnaires pesera toujours plus dans la balance que l'or Anglais" (p. 287).

There are some valuable passages in the work quoted above as pointing out the most approved lines on which the Latin Fathers believe these Eastern missions can be most hopefully worked. The general method pursued is much in harmony with our own ; but we are reminded also how

much we have to learn from them as regards the symmetrical adjustment, and mutual adaptation and fellow-working of the instruments employed.

In p. 238 we find the following : “ L'étude plus approfondie des langues orientales et l'établissement des Ecoles donnèrent à la mission (Dominicaine) des bases plus solides.”

Especially the Father dwells, in his correspondence, justly and forcibly on the importance of training colleges for an indigenous clergy ; as, in p. 271, we find in one of his letters :—

“ C'était sur le développement des écoles que le Père B. comptait pour la création d'un séminaire, seul moyen, selon lui, de réformer le clergé indigène. Quel espoir de rendre aux Chrétiens la dignité de l'Evangile tant qu'ils auraient, pour les conduire, un clergé si pauvre de sciences et de vertues ? Quand on a besoin d'un prêtre on confère la sacerdoce à quelque bon père de famille, honnête ouvrier ou pauvre cultivateur, qui reçoit en quelques semaines l'instruction jugée nécessaire, et qui administre les sacrements, baptise et confesse, en continuant à gagner le pain de ses enfants. . . . Cependant il ne faut pas songer à proposer aux Chaldéens l'abandon de leur rite. Ce serait les aliéner pour toujours. . . . L'avenir de l'église Chaldéenne est dans la formation d'un séminaire où le clergé recevra une science solide et l'amour de la chasteté.”

And again :

“ A Mar Yacoob comme à Mossoul il chercha à régénérer par l'éducation les populations Chrétiennes, qui croient à l'évangile, sans se douter même des vertues qu'il enseigne. . . . L'avilissement de la femme détruit là comme ailleurs les bases de la famille. Le respect filial est inconnu. Ce sont les misères morales surtout que le Père s'efforçait de guérir.

. . . . Sa grande ambition était la conversion des populations Nestoriens qui habitent les montagnes du Kurdistan. C'est là que s'est réfugiée cette hérésie du v. siècle qui attaquait le Christianisme dans son principe."

"L'instruction des enfants et le soin des malades détruisent chaque jour les préjugés du peuple qui reconnaît la vérité et la douceur de ses fruits."

Of Beyrout, the rival capital in Syria to that which the Latin Church has built up steadily at Mosul, in Turkish Arabia, Le P. Besson writes :—

"Beyrouth est une place forte de la charité catholique en Orient. Nos sœurs de Saint Vincent de Paul y triomphent des préjugés musulmans, en y fondant des établissements magnifiques, un hôpital, des écoles et des orphelinats. Les Jésuites et les Lazaristes y développent l'instruction et soutiennent, dans leurs épreuves, ces nobles Maronites que nous empêchent de protéger efficacement les intrigues de l'Angleterre."

Once more, the ultimate hopes and aims proposed to the Latin Fathers in Turkish Arabia are thus summed up briefly :

"Le rite Chaldéen surtout est à conserver, puisque c'est un moyen indispensable pour convertir les Nestoriens ; et lorsque l'église aura guéri les plaies de l'hérésie, et renouvelé le clergé appauvri par l'ignorance et l'esclavage, pourquoi ne rétablirait-elle pas la hiérarchie ancienne et ne réunirait-elle pas sous l'autorité d'un seul Patriarch les Chaldéens, et les Chrétiens du Malabar et les pays évangélisés par l'apôtre St. Thomas ?"

III.—The somewhat perplexed and intricate relations existing between the Greek Church and the missions of the American Presbyterian Board form an additional reason for the yearning on the part of the Greeks for more friendly and

sisterly relations with the Anglican Church. However stubbornly bent the Latins may be on classing under one category, *i.e.*, "Les Anglais," all missions, whether Anglican or American Presbyterian, this does not blind the eyes of the Greek and Syrian Churches to the characteristic differences of each; nor can all the aspersions and derisions dealt out profusely by the Jesuits in disparagement of our missions retard the steadily growing desire for a *rapprochement* between those Churches and ourselves; an alliance I, for one, should unfeignedly deprecate and shrink from taking one step to bring about, did it compromise us ever so little in the erroneous accretions of ritual and worship, which have eaten out so much of the heart and life of their services and chilled if not deadened the religious life—such as the prayers to the Virgin Mother, the Invocation of Saints, and the acceptance in the most undisguised and undiluted form of the Tridentine dogma of Transubstantiation as first inserted by Pope Innocent III in seventy articles which he proposed to the Lateran Council, and which also Gregory IX, his nephew, introduced into his decretals—though no decree of any Council confirmed them absolutely until 1555, under Julius III. The late Mr. Neale, in his work on the *Eastern Churches*, pp. 1170-1175, has shown that precisely the same dogma was affirmed and confessed as an Article of Faith in the East, though never formulated and grafted into the ancient Church ritual and liturgies, and came, in fact, to be regarded as authoritative in

virtue of its forming a part of an "exposition" of Eastern faith, drawn up by Peter Mogila, Archimandrite, and afterwards Metropolitan of Kieff, with the help of three other Bishops, by whom it was submitted to the approval of the Council of Jassy (1643), and confirmed by signature of the four Patriarchs. Since that time that exposition of faith has become the standard of Eastern doctrine, under the title of the "Orthodox Confession of Faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East".

The most ancient Liturgy of the Greek Church, that of St. Basil, has no direct invocation addressed to the Blessed Virgin, and is almost wholly and verbally in agreement with our own. It forms of itself a satisfactory base of reunion, both in the Greek original and the Arabic version in constant use. That of St. Chrysostom, on the other hand, both in the direct pleadings in which she is personally invoked, as well as those addressed to her Divine Son and regarded as acceptable to Him in virtue of her intercession, are wholly irreconcilable with the expurgated forms of public prayer we have drawn from Holy Scripture and primitive worship in its noblest uses.

In the judgment of the Americans, the condition of the Greek Church in practice and faith is hopelessly and incurably corrupt. Nothing remains, they maintain, but to come out of it and renounce all fellowship with it as an idolatress and adulteress from Christ. The experience of fifty years has convinced them (they say) that nothing

short of cruel desertion by one's nearest and dearest, and excommunication from all rites of the Church, is the inevitable consequence of the bold confession of Christ and the Gospel in its simplicity. It was difficult to gainsay this, and beyond a doubt the blemishes and disfigurements, both in their faith and its fruits, are serious and deplorable. By the Greek mothers and daughters the cultus of the Virgin Mother and adoration of her paintings have been superadded, to a great extent, to that of the Incarnate Son. That all this gives the greatest offence to the Moslem none can deny. Yet, after granting thus much, I dare not doubt or despond of fruits that may abound (under God), from unobtrusive and unpretending service, not proffered so much as *rendered* to our Sister Church in response to her own pleadings. I have observed with unfeigned surprise, the manner in which the Greek priests and lay-people have accepted, not tolerantly alone, but respectfully, educational help for their daughters, supplied by the American Presbyterians in Syria, Persia, Turkish Arabia, Turkish Armenia, as well as the help of cultivated English ladies working on independent lines in Syria and Palestine in some highly important centres; and that, although from year to year a small proportion of the more serious and accomplished students were drafted off into Protestant communities and renounced the Church of their baptism. Add to all this their perfect readiness to welcome the word of God into their homes, to attend mothers' working-parties and Bible-classes,

to receive visits of instruction and consolation during hours of suffering in sickness. These, and many like proofs of an altered state of mind and feeling, go far to disarm criticism and objection, and rebuke despondency, should any practical scheme be proposed for enlisting in the educational service of the Greek Church some portion of our surplus men and means, attracting ever so small a percentage of our ablest and soundest young theologians, on whom has fallen the mantle of Westcott and Lightfoot, of Kay and Wace, and Stanley Leathes, and not a few others, and inspired with the spirit which animated our University missions in Calcutta, Delhi, and Central Africa, and the C. M. S. band of workers in Tinnevely and Uganda, and Knott and Gordon in the Punjab. The purpose kept in view in such case would be as far removed as possible from that of the Latins, which tends to proselytism to 'an alien faith, and the disintegration of the old and venerable Churches of the East; but rather succouring them as sister might help sister, and restoring to them the things which "the cankerworm and caterpillar had eaten"; "raising up the foundations of many generations", and kindling into more glowing fervour that newly awakened thirst, spiritual and moral, for revival, such as sheds a smile of physical gladness over their Lebanon slopes under the seasonable dews and rains, as in Hosea's prophecy: "*I will be as the dew unto Israel: he shall grow as the lily, and cast forth his roots as Lebanon.*"

It was about two months before the honoured and richly endowed Prelate of Durham closed his course that I was permitted to spend some twenty minutes in conversation with him in his study at Bishop Auckland, to lay before him, while asking the benefit of his counsel, some plans which my recent Eastern journey and intercourse with many men and minds, some of them the very chiefest in the Greek and Syrian Church, had caused to loom before me of what might be done in the way of response (however feeble and tentative) to appeals from the side of the Greek Church. My diary contains the following words :

“The Bishop thought there might readily be found men in Cambridge to whom the idea could commend itself, and who might be ready to step forward and combinè their efforts on behalf of one or more Training Colleges for the Greek Church. He ended by saying that if his name and patronage would help me in my advocacy of such a well-considered plan, I had full liberty from him to employ them to that end. He seemed to like the idea I suggested of framing the course of instruction on the basis of the original languages of Holy Scripture, the Syriac included, with those of the early Greek Fathers which are the property of the Catholic Church, not wholly setting aside some of the best of our Anglican divines.”

In an earlier diary I find a brief record of a long conversation I had at Jerusalem with a remarkable man, the Archimandrite of the Orthodox Greek Church (since that time expelled by Russian intrigue, I am told). He said he considered the present moment most favourable for forming closer and faster relations between the two Churches, especially in the promotion of theological study (*'ilm*

Lākhūt). It would not be so well for their students to come over to learn in England. It would be preferable for some of our best to come out and live among them. A Divinity School of a high order would be, in his judgment, a really cementing bond of love and brotherhood—"mahabbat ak-haviya"; but it must be done in a candid and tolerant spirit, not polemic and controversial. This, I hope, would be practicable on the lines of study sketched out above.

In connexion with the points touched upon above, it may naturally be asked what efforts the Greek Patriarchs and Bishops are themselves making for the higher education of the upper classes generally, and more especially of Preparandi for the Greek priesthood. A former Patriarch of Jerusalem (predecessor of the last two Patriarchs, if I am rightly informed) made a most praiseworthy and statesmanlike effort to create a Theological Seminary for the training of his young clergy. One main feature of his plan was, that Divinity Studentships (at least twelve in number) should be adjudged to the most promising high-class students presenting themselves for examination; and that, after two years of hard study, the prizetholders who had made the best use, mentally and morally, of the opportunities afforded, should be trained up in Europe at its best theological centres—German, French, or others. The present highly distinguished Patriarch of Antioch, whom I saw much of both at Beyrout, Damascus, and on the Lebanon, was one of the *alumni* of

this College; which, unhappily, was closed for lack of funds, after a few years of creditable battling against insurmountable difficulties. It was said that the Russian Government withdrew certain grants to which it was pledged, owing, doubtless, to some of those party intrigues between the Russian Orthodox, and the Syrian and Palestinian Orthodox, which paralyse so many short-lived, but honest, efforts sprung periodically from some of the most faithful, and saintliest of their Church officers. When I was at Nazareth, the C.M.S. head-master of our mission school at Nazareth, a native Syrian, pointed out to me a new college in course of erection, by a concerted movement of State and Church in Russia, to remedy this lack—so far as North Palestine was concerned—of a high-class training-college for candidates for the Greek priesthood. A year ago it numbered a very small body, perhaps twenty, under a European Principal. It was commonly reported in Jerusalem that a like Russian training-college was in contemplation, and firmly purposed, by the heads of the Russian-Greek community in that city. In Constantinople I was informed, on quite reliable authority, that in two islands of the Bosphorus the Patriarch of that city, who is the chief of the four Patriarchs, had two schools of divinity which were training-centres for aspirants to the Greek priesthood, and that these were under his personal inspection periodically, and that he took serious and real interest in their development and improvement. The American Consul at Mitylene, a

Syrian, and long resident in the island, told me that the clergy were, on the whole, a learned body in that island, and that each of the seventy villages and townlets in it possessed a school of its own, with a higher-class school in the capital of Mitylene. These were the principal facts I was able to collect touching the chief available means for the education of the Greek clergy. Of another, which enjoyed some reputation in Latakiya, in the Tripoli district of N. Syria, I can learn little more than that it has been recently rent by factions, and its usefulness has been seriously impaired.

I have not ventured to plead in behalf of any costly and imposing schools of theology, such as the Latins have in almost all the Eastern cities. Elijah's Schools of the Sons of the Prophets would be much more the models near my heart, and most suited to the present needs of the Greek clergy, and least likely to arouse the jealous opposition and prohibition of the State; it may be, also, the secret, if not avowed disaffection of the less friendly among the Greek dignitaries. It would be a subject for after consideration whether the plan adopted both by the Latin and Greek Churches, of sending the most hopeful and advanced of their divinity students to be trained under Western professors of Theology, would be a wholesome appendage to the general plan.

I must own that the interest I have been led to take in the establishing and strengthening of British Syrian Schools through the emulation they have inspired into the Greek Orthodox Body,

and the higher conception they have contributed to form in that Church of the due exercise of its teaching functions towards the women and girls of their Syrian flocks—as also in the formation of two or more centres of theological instruction for the Greek clergy, secular and regular, or the young laymen, of whom a fair proportion interest themselves in religious and ecclesiastical questions—has not been unaffected by the bearing the question has on the large Mahomedan populations among which the Eastern Churches fulfil their ministry. One readily sees how unsettled and precarious is the footing these Churches occupy, on condition of tolerating galling humiliations and cruel restrictions, with their necks bared to the edge of the sword of persecution, in order to hold them in as abject subjection as possible. The Latins admit Moslems, both young men and women, into a few, at least, of their largest institutions—some of them drawn from the highest classes—under pledges of having no religious teaching forced upon them, or influence used to proselytise. It is likely that some young Moslems of more serious bent of mind would hereafter seek admission into such colleges as are pleaded for here; but no stress could be laid on this in the first instance. The unique and privileged position occupied by our Anglican Church, with reference to the Mahomedans of Western Asia in particular, would make it impossible to segregate the question of the conversion of the Moslem from that of the self-reform of the Greeks. The

two great waves of thought and action which during the last century have upborne, as on a full springtide, the all-but stranded vessel of our Church at a time when it seemed to some left high and dry, and ready to become a castaway : the one, the outpouring of the Blessed Spirit in His new creating and illuminating influences, the other, the restored, clearer consciousness of the Primitive Catholicity and Apostolicity which is our heritage ; are coming now, we may well trust, to culminate and concur in a third and joint movement, a wave of missionary zeal and recognition of the open Philadelphian door *Christ's own hand has set before us, which no man can shut* ;—all these three have combined to bring us into marked, unexampled relations both toward the Greek and the Moslem, if we are kept faithful in watching and following the tokens of His Providence, who “ abideth faithful ; HE cannot deny Himself”. The inspired thoughts on this subject, which so possessed the soul of the venerable Bishop Lightfoot, most of all during the latter years and months of his life, and the solemnity of the utterances which escaped his lips, may well be regarded as a priceless legacy bequeathed in sacred trust to our Church and nation.

It is but right to say that, with some few signal exceptions of large-hearted men, the Americans deprecate exceedingly the entrance of the Church of England and its missions into Syria, pleading, as though it tied the hands of the whole Church for ever, a kind of informal agreement arrived at

many years ago between the C.M.S. and the American Board, that one should occupy Palestine, the other Syria. I have little doubt, however, that this opposition would gradually give place to better mutual understanding if in this case, as in that of His Grace's Assyrian missions, it were made clear to them by degrees that the lines taken up by our missions differed materially from the methods and ends they have proposed to themselves; and (2) that we not only profess but honestly practise the utmost reluctance to receive over their congregations except with their full consent; and (3) that, while adhering faithfully to the high trust and commission our Church is charged with from hoar antiquity, we are yet at some pains to cultivate friendly and brotherly relations with the Americans, in recognition of the sympathetic and grateful respect we owe them for their immense expenditure of men, means, and labour during the last sixty or seventy years, and the courageous struggle they have maintained with thwartings almost insurmountable. One of the ablest and most laborious of these missionaries in their head-station spoke with some cordiality even of such a movement on the part of our Primate, provided only the emissaries of our Church were such as would treat them as brethren in Christ, while yielding nothing of the position we rightly claim as occupying a like platform of Apostolic doctrine and discipline with that on which the Greek Orthodox Church itself stands. Unquestionably the Easterns have derived substantial

blessings (socially and spiritually) from the succession of remarkable men and women sent forth from America, through whose means most of the towns and very many of the villages have been honeycombed, one may say, with a carefully planned network of primary and training schools, preaching chapels, and hospitals, ministered to by pastors, readers, schoolmasters, and colporteurs, and a considerable body of lady-workers. The school system is distributed into five large circles, from Tripoli and Adana in North Syria down to Damascus, Mount Hermon, and Sidon; each of these with a distinguished Missionary at its head. Almost in every case the school results in the formation of a Presbyterian or, as it is called, Protestant flock, ministered to by a native Syrian pastor, and visited by itinerant American missionaries, and consisting mainly of the parents and teachers of the school children, students of the blind-schools, members from Bible classes, and sometimes a fair number of anxious inquirers from without, Moslem, Druse, and Jews.

The largest Protestant flock I saw was at Oorfa, numbering nearly one thousand souls, as I was informed by an aged Syrian pastor, Mr. Abdul Haiyat, much respected there, brought up in the Lutheran College at Basle for some years; who has been allowed to build a large church in the suburbs of Oorfa with funds he personally raised in America. As an agent of the Bible Society he has effected a large distribution, by purchase, of copies of the Bible and

other Christian books, historical, devotional, and expository, rendered in the vernacular Armenian and Turkish; as many as 1,500 copies of the Holy Scriptures in a single year. The largest aggregation of American schools and churches is found in Marash, Kharpoot, and Aintab, too distant from Oorfa by mountainous roads to allow of my visiting them.

The whole number of these members of the Eastern Churches gathered into Protestant flocks (so called) was estimated by the British Consul, whom I visited at Diarbekir (M. Boyerjian, an Armenian by birth, married to a cultivated English lady), at 50,000 souls; but others, better informed, judge this number largely exaggerated, and I should regard 30,000 as nearer to a correct estimate. The Consul, whom the Americans ordained as pastor to a flock of about 1,000 souls gathered from the Armenian and Syrian Churches in Diarbekir, made some interesting remarks to me one day on the altered relations now existing between the American and ancient Eastern Churches from those which formerly subsisted. His impression is, that it is not their habit to attack and denounce as vehemently as once they did, the ritual and liturgy of the Churches, nor were they so anxious as formerly to unhinge and detach them from those Churches; and, on the other hand, the attitude of the old Churches towards them was in some measure improved and more appreciative of their work. In a number of villages in those parts, the Protestant deacons

and others are invited to preach occasionally in the old village churches, and (what is more) sermons of an evangelical type are far more often heard, especially in Jacobite churches. There is more, he said, of *lumière* and unction in their discourses, were it only by way of friendly emulation, and as the most effective method to meet the growth of the Protestant feeling.

I was much struck with the fact (which the Consul attributed almost wholly to the prevailing American influence) that, in the recently rebuilt Armenian cathedral at Diarbekir which I visited—a shrine almost colossal in its proportions—the laity of the congregation prevailed on the Bishop and priests to exclude wholly the pictures of the Virgin and Saints which for so many centuries had been an indispensable and prominent condition of their worship, as I found it throughout Persia and Russia also. Were an open door set before our own Church to found two or more theological colleges in behalf of these Churches, in extension and further development of His Grace's Assyrian schools, it would be unjust and ungenerous in the highest degree to forget the preparatory ploughing and sowing process in which the American evangelists and teachers, men and women, have so persistently and honourably persevered; of much of which it might be fearlessly said: "*He that soweth the good seed is the SON of MAN; the good seed are the children of the kingdom.*"

In M. Boyerjian's judgment, the influence of

the missions of the American Board was decidedly and solidly influential for good. He says he is convinced that there is "a shaking among the bones", though at present but slightly perceptible. Among the Protestants known to him there is a large number (he states) of honest, Godfearing men who read the Bible in their homes, and lead lives pious and commendable among all men; who talk about their faith outside their homes, and in the bazaars win respect by upright and honest dealings. Side by side with this there grows up an altered feeling in Church matters from that which prevailed in darker times. There is a decided reaction from the breaking down and disintegrating process to that of construction and building up; a growing feeling that if the faithful confession of the great fundamental truths of the Gospel will be tolerated, and some real reforms in vital points of practice suffered, they are ready and desirous even to re-instate their old ancestral Church-bodies in their primitive ritual and standard of Godly living and truth. M. Boyerjian confessed to having a deep conviction that the sectarian spirit is pregnant with mischief, and is not after the mind of Christ.

I must not close without a distinctly commendatory notice of the British Syrian Schools founded by Mrs. Bowen Thompson after the massacre of Christians on the Lebanon in 1860, and still maintained by intensely-exhausting, and too feebly supported, effort by her aged sister, Mrs. Mott. It has been most creditable to the ladies in

charge of these schools that, whilst constrained most often to accept the services of Syrian pastors of the American missions, through the rejection of their appeals by the Anglican Church, which has given them the cold-shoulder from the beginning, while the Americans, on the other hand, have supplied them with their best ministrations ungrudgingly and unremunerated—still their habit is to accept, and, when occasion serves, to use the English Prayer-book in its Arabic translation, together with the Bible, as the basis of their teaching, and welcome the proffered services, when available, of the Bishops and Priests of the English Church, and show, as my experience testifies, an honest and hearty appreciation of our Eucharists. Although (except, perhaps, in the case of the Beyrout Normal Training College) the standard of education falls below that of the American Central Institutions in Syria and Turkish Armenia, and those of the Jesuit, Dominican, St. Vincent de Paul, and other like teaching bodies, yet, as the result of my observations, and a considerable time devoted to the catechising of these schools, and making comparison with others, I could not doubt that some of the highest and deepest influences working in the minds of many members of the Greek Orthodox and Syrian Churches are largely to be attributed to the work of the ladies in these schools, and the like schools of other English ladies ; and much confidence and esteem have been attracted towards them on the part of Druse, Jewish, and Mahomedan mothers. They are entitled, beyond a ques-

tion to our deep sympathy and generous support.

It would greatly embarrass and disturb our relations with the Eastern Churches, and lead to a course of action which has been justly repudiated by the heads of the English Church, were we to accede to requests which not unfrequently reach us, and form Anglican congregations in Syria and in the adjacent lands, of flocks desiring to secede to us from the American Presbyterian bodies, as they originally seceded from the Eastern Churches. This desire is often found to have sprung from private and personal disagreements; more often from the dissatisfaction and offence caused by the small value set on public worship, the Sacraments, forms of prayer, episcopacy, the most approved symbolic ritual, and law-abiding discipline, besides the wholesale and indiscriminate condemnation of the Eastern Churches, and disparagement of the substantial good with which they are duly credited. On the other hand, the adherence to what is of primitive practice in these, by the Anglican Church, conciliates them and wins their confidence, besides its natural tendency to alliance with the Greek Church, through unfading memories of its original bonds of attachment with the British Church. The appreciative sense they have of our tolerant spirit, our reluctance to proselytise and denationalise, and to alienate the Easterns, and transfer them from their own Church system and traditional Pastorate into our own, as the Jesuits and Americans are bent upon doing—together with the near

approximation of our liturgies to their own use—unitedly form a vantage-ground we may be well slow to part with.

Meantime the general direction our efforts should take seems pointed out by the emphatic words which occur in the Encyclical Letter put forth by the last Lambeth Conference (p. 18): “Though all schemes of proselytising are to be avoided, it is only right that our real claims and position as a historical Church should be set before a people who are very distrustful of novelty, especially in religion, and who appreciate the history of Catholic antiquity. *Help should be given towards the education of the clergy, and in more destitute communities extended to schools for general instruction.*”

We are bold enough to refuse to believe that the bare necessities of the case, in the way of funds for unpretentious buildings, and the frugal living of a small community, free of domestic ties, would not be forthcoming from English Churchmen, lay and clerical, provided only our Universities can make an offer of some of their deepest taught and best inspired young theological students, distributing among themselves the acquirement of the most needed vernaculars—Arabic, Syriac, and Persian, in some cases Armenian and Turkish, in addition to French and the three Sacred languages, so called—and well practised in the study of the Greek Fathers; all this subordinate to the reverent, patient “waiting for the *Promise of the Father*”, the seven-fold gifts received for us

and bequeathed to us in the Lord's Ascension gift—in response to obedience to the ever re-echoing call for fresh enlistments in the Volunteer service of the Church, contained in St. Paul's words—“ *We, having the same Spirit of Faith, according as it is written, I believe, and therefore have I spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak.*”



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